1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

out on a hunting expedition, accompanied by the men of the settlement who are related to the bride by blood or marriage. The object of this expedition is to prove the young man's fitness as a meat provider for his future family. During the early part of the day's hunt, his companions place every possible hindrance in the way of his obtaining a bag, such as making noise when a quarry has been sighted, or rocking the canoe as the hunter takes aim while on the river. This is a very hilarious occasion for the other participants and a very embarrassing one for the groom, who will be rejected if he returns empty handed. If the groom is at all acceptable to the bride's relatives, however, they usually arrange that, after a day of tribulations, he will get some sort of bag to bring home. During his residence in the settlement they have had ample opportunity to form an opinion concerning him. The hunting expedition is apparently merely a formality, as it is a rare groom who does not know fairly well whether or not he has passed the examination of his future in-laws long before the time for the final test arrives.

Upon the return of the hunting party, an offering of drink is made to the spirit of the house, a spree takes place, and the young couple settle down to married life. They usually live in the girl's settlement until the birth of the first child. Later they may move elsewhere.

A man taking a second wife, either as a widower or as the master of a polygamous household, merely requests her from her father, giving the older man some small present or services in exchange. The house-building, field-cutting, and hunting tests are not considered necessary in the case of a man who has previously been married, since he has already given evidence of his fitness.

It is apparent that marriage, coincidental with matrilocal residence, entails the acceptance of the groom by the group to which the bride belongs, which we shall call the extended family. Marriage thus involves a sort of contract between a man and his wife's group, but does not involve a contractual relationship between his own relatives and those of the bride.

After marriage a certain reserve exists between son-in-law and father-in-law. A man never gives his father-in-law direct orders or suggestions, but always speaks to his wife about the matter in hand, and she transmits her husband's ideas to the older man. On

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

601 614 in the terminology concerning the lineal affiliations of the grandparent's generation and of the grand-children's generation. As explained above, the separation of the maternal and paternal lines in the three "middle" generations is a natural reflection of the incest tabus which arise in a society in which the levirate and sororate are actively functioning. Under such conditions terminological distinctions are functionally necessary in the three middle generations, but are merely superfluous in the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations. On the other hand, if the system were based on a sib organization, a host of economic, religious, and social factors would demand a recognition of the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and grandchildren's generations, if these generations were recognized at all. Such a lack of interest in the linear affiliations of the second ascending and second descending generations, as displayed in the Barama Carib system, is wholly foreign to the systems of the majority of sib organizations of which we know.

601 587 We may summarize the facts favoring the contention that the Barama Carib kinship terminology, which distinguishes the maternal and paternal lines only in the three "middle" generations, is connected with the levirate and sororate rather than with a sib or dual organization. 1. The levirate and sororate are still actively functioning, while there is no evidence of a present or former sib grouping. 2. Indifference is displayed in the terminology concerning the linear affiliations of the members of the grandparents' and of the grandchildren's generations. 3. Cross cousins are equated with all marriageable persons, whether demonstrably related by blood or not, a usage inconsistent with a strict dual organization.

603 591 The failure to distinguish sex of grandchildren reflects the break-up of the family which occurs as a result of extralocal marriage. Informants displayed great difficulty in remembering their grandchildren, because, as they said, their children move away after marriage and they lose track of their grandchildren. It will be remembered that marriage is matrilocal only until the birth of the first child. Birth and rearing of grandchildren usually takes place in a settlement removed from that of the grandparents. The average old man or woman will have difficulty in telling how

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

many grandchildren he or she has, and if the number is remembered, the sex of the several grandchildren is often vague. This state of affairs added no little to the difficulty of obtaining genealogies. The grandchild is characteristically not a real person of the grandparent's experience.

Grandparents, on the other hand, are much more real personalities to their grandchildren than the reverse. Even if a grandchild seldom sees the grandparent in the flesh, the older individual's personality is impressed upon the child through the conversation and allusions of the parents. Hence, it is natural that the grandparents are distinguished according to sex.

A further peculiarity of the system is to be noted in the provisions made permitting the marriage of a man with his sister's daughter, a type of marriage which has also been reported from the Carib Tamanak, Macusi, Galibi, Island Carib, Cumanagoto, Chayma, and Palenke, as well as the Coastal Tupi.[1] Among the Barama Caribs a man calls his sister's daughter takano ("marriageable" or cross cousin), and a woman calls her mother's brother iyao, the term which she uses for all men whom she may marry. Consistent with this usage is the fact that a woman calls the children of her mother's sister by the same terms which she uses for her own children and the fact that she calls children of maternal parallel cousins by the same term which she uses for her own grandchildren. Two cases of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter were noted in the area. At the present time it seems to be an archaic type of marriage. "Marriage with the sister's daughter," says Kirchhoff,[2] "is, aside from the jungle tribes of South America, known only among a number of mostly Dravidian tribes and castes of India and among the Tungus of East Siberia. . . . The Carib sources are clear only on one point, namely, that it is among them (as also among the Coastal Tupi) a deep-rooted system. On the other hand, the sources from the Coastal Tupi supply thorough going information among which statements concerning this custom can be found. We find, thus, two wholly different situations reported in which this form of marriage is customary. . . . In the first place, this form of

[1] Kirchoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, and Kirchoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschafts organisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas.*

[2] Kirchhoff, 1932, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, p. 58. Translation by author.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

582 marriage frees a man from having to work for his spouse. . . .
604 The relatives of a woman acquire through her marriage not only
171 a servant in the person of her man, but also in her daughter a woman for whom one does not need to serve (because of her father's prior obligations to the family of his wife). The taking of this daughter makes a man free of a part of his obligation." Another explanation for the usage is reported from the Tupinamba (Coastal Tupi) on the authority of Soares de Souza, according to Kirchhoff. Here a man marries his widowed sister's daughter as a means of providing for the widow, and thus bringing him and her under the same roof. Of the two motives here mentioned which might have given rise to marriage with sister's daughter, the first appears to be applicable to the Barama Caribs in preference to the second, which is not compatible with the usage of the levirate.

601 One term in the Barama system I am unable to explain and believe that it must be regarded as an error. This is the term wa'ako which a woman applies to her older brother, the same term being applied by both men and women to older sister.

171 In concluding our remarks on the Barama Carib system as
614 such, we may point out that its general principles have been found
587 to be characteristic of the other Carib groups in South America. According to Kirchhoff's survey of the social organizations of northeastern South America, the Caribs are characterized by the following usages: (1) Absence of sibs or dual organization; (2) distinction, based on levirate and sororate, in the three middle generations between maternal and paternal lines; (3) impermanent matrilocal marriage.[1] The Arawak groups, on the other hand, seem to be characterized by matrilocal marriage and an organization of matrilineal unlocalized sibs, which among the Lokono at least are organized into exogamic moieties. The Uitoto and Bora have patrilocal marriage and patrilinear localized sibs.

602 In the light of usages involved in the kinship system we see
612 that a Barama Carib recognizes one group of his relatives, the "parallel" relatives, more definitely than other relatives. The latter are terminologically undistinguished from other persons.

[1] Kirchhoff, 1932, a, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation*. This author has examined the literary sources dealing with the following Carib groups: Tamanak, Macusi, Taulingpang (Arekuna), Yekuana, Ginau, Aparai, Rukuyenne (Oyaba), Galibi, Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, and Cumanagoto. Among the Aparai marriage is said to be patrilocal.

175 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used
342 for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the
hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a
584 field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the
[582] bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized
an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During
591 this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other
[606] male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary
nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his
father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but
[851] through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally
would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97).
The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved
406 men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house con-
571 structing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not
621 [462] necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation
lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to
have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated
as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organi-
[592] zation (Gillin 1936:136). The adult men moved their households about
freely to enter into associations with other men from households in
175 the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers,"
406 actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these
593 kinsmen tended to settle near each other.
605
[591]

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

TABLE 12

RESIDENCE AND KINSHIP AND WORK RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MINERS, 1969

Residential Group	Estimated Ages of Men	Relationships	Years of Employment with Baird
(In Time)			
1.	55	father	over 15
	25	son	over 6
2.	75	father	previously ca. 10
	40	son	ca. 4
3.	65	man	never employed
	35	son-in-law	ca. 16
4.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 2
	25	son	ca. 6
5.	60	father	ca. 12
	30	son	ca. 10
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
6.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 10
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
7.	30	man	ca. 8
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
8.	35	man	ca. 12
	25	brother-in-law	ca. 6
(Big Creek)			
9.	45	man	ca. 16
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
10.	25	Baird's son	steadily employed
11.	50	father	previously ca. 1
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
	25	son-in-law	ca. 2
	20	son	previously ca. 1

*177 592 621 around the air strip are diagramed in Figure 13. House structures[4] continue to be located in cultivated fields in which the resident adult men have apportioned sections. The composition of these clearings illustrate different stages of a man's career recruiting sons-in-law, different employment experiences, and different temporary cooperative arrangements. Accordingly, these twenty clearings can be divided into three categories.

The most simple of these categories consists of a single household comprising two generations. The husband-father is mature enough so that he is no longer a dependent in another's clearing. Also, he has not been a partner in an employment situation in the last several [595] years. He has either one or two wives. In either case, his children [582] are not yet adults. However, with no other context for recruiting assistance, the oldest daughter in these households becomes a wife comparatively young, as early as seven years of age. The son-in-law [591] joins the household. For brief periods, the young couple may reside temporarily with the boy's parents. There are five examples of this type of household.

The second type of household at the Air Strip is more complex and is represented by nine cases. In each case, there are three generations present. Yet the household is still coterminous with the clearing. In seven cases, employment, either sporadic or more permanent, has resulted in the extension of the family to include either an adult son or son-in-law and his wife or wives and children. Other adult sons and daughters have left the household. Daughters in the third generation may be young wives themselves, but they are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 114]